Workers of the World, Unite!

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Capitalist Propaganda Meets Sales Resistance

By M. Stein

(See Page 2)

Truman 'Fair Deal' Proposals Sugar-coat Military Program

Calls for Universal Military Training, Curb On Strikes and Power to Freeze Wages

By Art Preis

Truman's 'State of the Union' message to Congress on Jan. 5 is largely a restatement of various promises of limited social reforms he has made over the past three years. Some of them he now puts forth in watered-down form. Others he repeats in vague language. Together they amount to no more than crumbs in terms of the needs of the people and the vast potentialities of this nation to produce abundance and security for everyone.

But this "Fair Deal" program, as it is being described, is mere sugar-coating for Truman's basic program. That is the total militarization of the country. It is this program Truman emphasized when he called once more for the establishment of universal military training and the creation of the most costly and gigantic military machine ever known.

His administration, he stressed, would "hold resolutely" to its course of the "cold war," creation and arming of a world-wide military alliance against the Soviet Union, intervention in other countries, bolstering of bankrupt capitalist regimes everywhere, financing the suppression of colonial revolts and working class uprisings, etc.

ITS REAL MEANING

Truman did not mention the real meaning of this program for the American people themselves. For instance, just before delivering his message, he held a White House conference with Democratic Congressional leaders at which it was agreed that Truman will propose the biggest peacetime federal budget in history—about $42 billion. Of this, not less than $25 billion will go for direct military expenditures and the conduct of the "cold war."

This budget represents one-fifth of the total annual national income. Taken together with the astronomical U. S. war debt of $252 billion, to which Truman made pointed reference in his message, this cost of militarism past and present is the chief force powering the inflation rocket.

Although Truman dwelt at length on the dangers of inflation, he did not dare to put his finger on the basic cause — the military program. Therefore he could not propose a continuation or repetition of feeble and inadequate measures. His principal proposal was for "stand-by" powers to put price ceilings on certain commodities. Tied to this was a demand for power "to limit unjustified wage adjustments"—that is, to freeze wages. It was under this same formula that wages were frozen during the war, while prices kept rising steadily.

In his references to his military program Truman was silent about the sinister invasion of all spheres of American life by the military machine and its officer caste. He said nothing about the legislation being urged by his Defense Secretary James Forrestal to give the military agencies, without prior Congressional permission, blanket authority to send military forces anywhere in the world, and to provide military support to any country at war and, in the process, to clamp the vise of military control on the people at home.

It is against this background of wealth-devouring militarism and the extension of totalitarian

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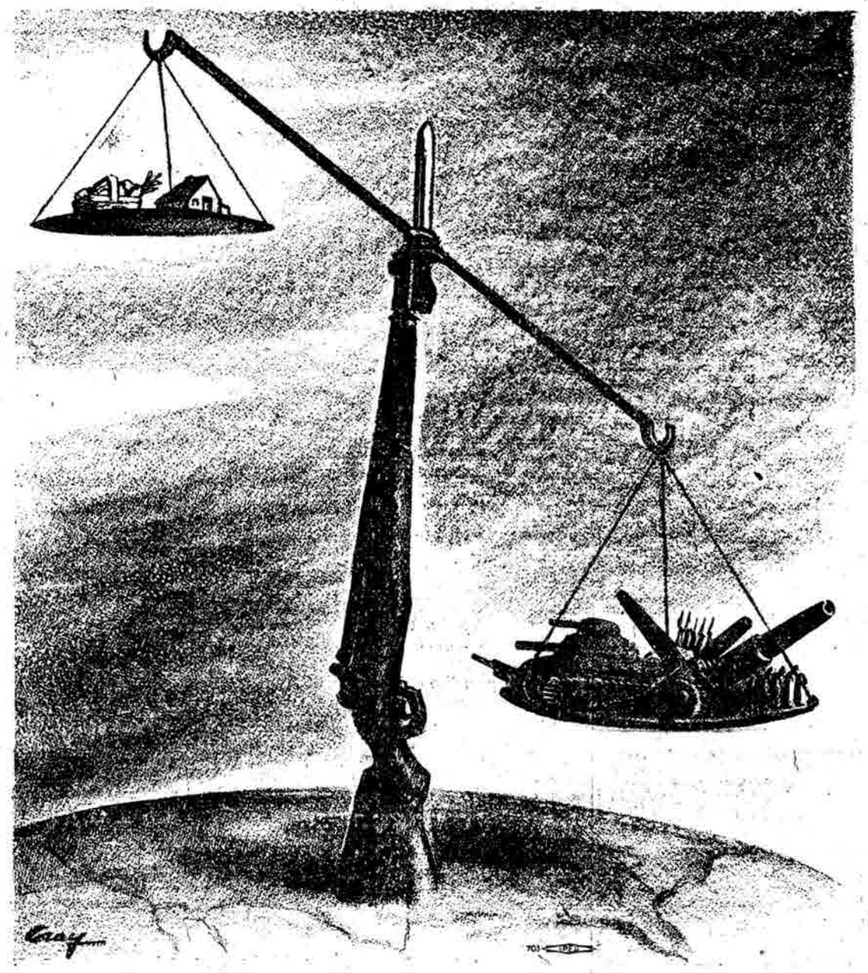
State of the Union, 1949



VA Gen. Gray OK's Firing of Legless Veteran

New Loyalty Board Memo Ends Pretense Of Fair Hearings on Individual Cases

NEWARK Jan. 4—General Carl Gray, head of the Veterans Administration, has turned down James Kutcher's appeal for the recovery of the VA clerical job from which he was dismissed last October, Kutcher reported today after receiving a letter from the top VA office in Washington. The legless veteran, who was purged because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, was given 20 days in which to file an appeal with the Loyalty Review Board of the U. S. Civil Service Commission.

The VA letter said: "You have admitted and therefore it must be concluded to be a fact that you are a member of the Socialist Workers Party. . . . The Attorney General has determined that the Socialist Workers Party is an organization that seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means. The Veterans Administration is bound by that determination of the Attorney General."

In a statement to the press, Kutcher replied: "I did not get a fair deal from the VA. The real issue in my case is not my membership in the Socialist Workers Party, which I have always freely admitted, but the question of whether or not my party is subversive.

"The letter I have just received from the VA admits that in making its decision it was 'bound' by the Attorney General's designation, and therefore could not even consider the real issue.

"What I am seeking is a decision on that crucial issue. Attorney General Clark put my party on his blacklist without submitting any specification of charges or evidence. When we asked for a public hearing at which we could defend ourselves against his charges, he arbitrarily denied it. This bureaucratic witch-hunt method is the same kind used by Hitler and Stalin against their political opponents, and will lead to a police state if not stopped."

The veteran said that he would file an appeal with the Loyalty Review Board within the specified time limit. **"If I don't get justice there, if the Loyalty Review Board dodges the real issue just as the Branch Loyalty Board and the VA Administrator have done, then I will be compelled to go to the civil courts and, if necessary, all the way up to the Supreme Court," he added.**

Attached to the VA letter, and cited as part of the authority for its decision on the Kutcher appeal was a copy of a new document. Memorandum No. 32, issued by the Loyalty Review Board on Dec. 17.

This memorandum, signed by Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, reminds all of the government's executive departments and agencies that Attorney General Clark had designated the following five groups as organizations seeking to alter the form of the government by unconstitutional means: Communist Party, Communist Political Association, Socialist Workers Party, Workers Party and Young Communist League.

The letter then says: ". . . if in the consideration of a case a Loyalty Board finds as a fact that an employee or an applicant is a member of one of the foregoing organizations, or that he advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence, then the removal of the employee, or the refusal of employment to the applicant, is mandatory."

The significance of this document is that in the past Richardson, and Truman and Clark before him, had repeatedly promised that no one would be purged merely because of his membership in any organization on the blacklist, that each individual's case would be judged on its own merits, etc. Kutcher too was told at the beginning of his case that its outcome would depend not merely on his admitted membership in an allegedly "subversive" group, but above all on whether or not he as an individual was "subversive."

Now the pretense of individual consideration of cases is ended in fact, as well as in words. Now, more nakedly than before, the government purge is shown to be guided completely by the reactionary principle of "guilt by association."

(See editorial on the Kutcher case on Page 3.)

SWP Pickets at Dutch Consulate, Backs Indonesia

NEW YORK, Dec. 30 — Despite a pouring rain, members of the Socialist Workers Party picketed the Dutch Consulate here tonight in protest against the Dutch government's ruthless attack on the Indonesian Republic.

The call for the demonstration had been issued by the American Labor Party in conjunction with two other Stalinist-front organizations, the American Committee for Indonesian Independence and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. The New York Local of the SWP came to the demonstration in good faith, believing that the addition of its forces would increase the impact of the action.

The SWP members had barely joined the picket line, however, when the Stalinist leaders demanded their withdrawal and got the captain in charge of a police detachment to eject them from the line.

The SWP then formed its own line adjacent to the Stalinists and continued demonstrating. Before the action was finished, the SWP line was twice as large as the Stalinists'.

Even more notable was the difference in the spirit of the two groups. The SWP demonstrators were lively and continually shouted slogans such as Freedom for the Indonesians! No Aid to Dutch Imperialism! Unite to Fight Imperialist Reaction! The Stalinist pickets were obviously dispirited. At first they shuffled in silence around the prescribed course. Only later they began feebly shouting slogans.

The SWP distributed a leaflet denouncing Dutch imperialism and exposing Washington's role in the rape of Indonesia. It hailed the Indonesian Trotskyists in their "revolutionary struggle for complete and unconditional independence of Indonesia." It called on the American labor movement "to mobilize its ranks and the mass of the American people in a campaign to supply the maximum material and moral assistance to the hard-pressed Indonesian people."

Further Degeneration Of the Socialist Party

By Farrell Dobbs

The party of Norman Thomas is preparing to abandon any pretense of independent class politics and enter the Peoples-Front-type coalition forming on the liberal fringe of the Democratic Party. That is the meaning of the programmatic statement of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, published in the Dec. 24 **Socialist Call.**

The statement first examines the results of the presidential election: The Truman victory has brought organized labor "into closer relations with the Democratic Party." Hopes for a new party "as the expression of liberal and labor interests" must now be postponed for some time to come. The Socialist Party vote was "disappointing." Therefore, the SP must "create new machinery and outline new strategies."

Establishment of an "American Socialist Center" is proposed. This "Center" would include the SP, Social Democratic Federation, Jewish Labor Bund, Workmen's Circle and social-democratic foreign language groups. Contact would be maintained with social democrats abroad, "particularly with those who visit the United States in connection with United Nations proceedings."

At the same time the SP will "press for full unity at the earliest possible date" with the Social Democratic Federation, which supported Truman in the last election. In previous unity negotiations the SDF refused to continue in a united organization the SP policy of running party candidates for public office. It appears that the SP National Committee is now ready to more or less abandon that policy and accept the SDF line of supporting liberal capitalist politicians.

An internal discussion of "various alternatives" in election tactics has been opened in the SP, to be followed by a national conference around Decoration Day.

Not one word is said in the SP statement about monopoly capitalism's campaign to tear up the Bill of Rights and militarize America in preparation for a war to conquer the world. The political demands are confined to "Social Budget for America," including full employment, full production, adequate housing and "socialization" of steel and coal.

The statement of the National Committee marks the completion of a full stage in the degeneration of the post-Debs Socialist Party from its high point some 12 years ago.

RECENT HISTORY

Back in 1935-36 the SP moved a little to the left under pressure of the upsurge in the mass movement. Resolutions against war and capitalism were adopted and revolutionists were invited into the party.

The ultra-conservative right wing of well-heeled lawyers,

(Continued on page 2)

23,777 TORONTO VOTES CAST FOR ROSS DOWSON

By Barry Brent

ROSS DOWSON

TORONTO, Jan. 3 — Final returns in the Jan. 1 Toronto civic elections give Ross Dowson, the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) candidate for mayor, 23,777 votes, approximately 20% of the total. This is more than 50% above the 15,423 votes polled by Dowson last year, and many times the 3,201 cast for the RWP candidate two years ago. It demonstrates that the RWP has become a strong electoral force in this industrial center.

The rise in Dowson's vote is even more significant in the light of the showing of the other labor candidates. All eight candidates for City Council of the reformist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, endorsed by the Toronto Labor Council, (CCL-CIO), were defeated. A lone CCFer was elected to the Board of Education, with the support of the capitalist press.

The Stalinist Labor Progressive Party maintained its representation of two on the Council, with slightly increased votes, and added another to its single seat on the Board of Education. But one of its top national leaders, Stewart Smith, running for re-election to the four man Board of Control, which is elected on a city-wide basis, received 43,384 votes as compared with 49,319 last year.

CAPITALIST ALARM

The capitalist press is alarmed at the rise of Trotskyism. The powerful **Toronto Star** editorializes, "Apart from the decisive rejection of the two-year term, the feature of the election was the impressive vote registered for Ross Dowson, candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party."

The Globe and Mail, mouthpiece of the Bay Street mining inter-

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Anti-Labor Press Hails Dubinsky's T-H "Substitute"

Glowing praise is being heaped by the Big Business press on David Dubinsky, president of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, for the proposal of his General Executive Board to retain some of the worst features of the Taft-Hartley Act in a new "substitute" law.

Spoken of in labor circles as the "Dubinsky-Taft-Hartley" bill, the ILGWU president's proposal would continue the strikebreaking compulsory "cooling off" period and "fact-finding" government intervention of the Slave Labor Law. It would also strengthen the section requiring yellow-dog oaths of "non-communism," ban "secondary" boycotts such as the refusal to handle scab goods and give the Department of Labor authority to decide so-called "jurisdictional" disputes.

The ultra-conservative **N. Y. Sun** hails the Dubinsky bureaucracy's "fine reputation for responsibility and foresight." It notes that the ILGWU Board "echoes labor's cry — 'Taft-Hartley must go' — but in its next words recommends retention, and in some instances even extension, of policies incorporated in the present legislation. . . **Clearly it is the name rather than the character of the law which is under attack here.**"

The **N. Y. Times** editorially recommends "careful consideration" of Dubinsky's program "because these recommendations come from one of the most progressive, best led and most responsible trade unions in the country." A "responsible" union leader, to this Morgan paper, is one who yields most to the employers. The rabidly anti-labor **Daily News** greets the "helpful words" of Dubinsky and notes approvingly that Dubinsky and "his boys" crave "sharper and longer teeth in laws to help them battle Communists."

JAMES KUTCHER

Supreme Court Again Shows Its Class Bias

The nine life-termers on the U. S. Supreme Court — most of them ex-corporation lawyers and all appointed by either Roosevelt or Truman — on Jan. 3 invited the spread of "Little Taft-Hartley" laws in the 48 states by upholding closed-shop bans in North Carolina, Nebraska and Arizona.

Two decisions by the supreme judicial guardians of the employing class give the green light to reactionary state legislatures to enact similar laws where they do not yet exist. In this way, the open-shop interests will be able to retain one of the main provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act in the event of the latter's repeal. Sixteen states already have such bans and five more have restrictions limiting closed shop agreements.

Such a ban in the Taft-Hartley Act has been one of the restrictions most bitterly opposed by labor. It was the basis for the attempts by the Big Business publishers to undermine the AFL International Typographical Union and restore open shop conditions — an attempt which the ITU has fought grimly for more than 15 months.

RANK HYPOCRISY

All the state bans, as well as the Taft-Hartley clause, hypocritically refer to the "right to work." They don't mean the right of workers to employment and job security. They mean the right of employers to replace union workers with non-union men and scabs.

In upholding the North Carolina and Nebraska statutes, the court claimed that these provided the unions with "equal rights," contending that "state laws also make it impossible for an employer to make contracts with company unions which obligate the employer to refuse jobs to union members." What kind of contract does an employer need when he's got a company union?

It is especially significant that these Supreme Court decisions — one on the North Carolina and Nebraska laws and the other on the Arizona statute — were not five-to-four decisions. On the first, every justice stood up and was counted — on the side of the open shop interests. These included the "liberals" like William O. Douglas (keynote speaker at the recent CIO convention), Felix Frankfurter, Hugo Black, Robert H. Jackson and Frank Murphy. Murphy alone dissented in the Arizona case, but without comment. Arizona's law speaks only of the "right to work" of non-union men.

THE COURT'S ROLE

This Supreme Court ruling is an arbitrary and arrogant blow at the majority of the American electorate who so recently overwhelmingly repudiated Taft-Hartleyism. It reveals how completely these nine men, appointed for life and immune to all popular restraints, contemptuously override the will of the people.

Once more the class character of the American courts — and particularly the very highest court — is nakedly revealed. Their vaunted "impartiality" is a smokescreen. They are nothing but the legal guardians of the propertied interests, selected by the ruling rich to serve the ruling rich. Because they are irremovable, they can commit acts that elected officials do not dare commit.

In any important conflict between labor and capital — the injunction and fine against the coal miners, the portal-to-portal pay case, etc.—the Supreme Court has stood automatically on the side of the labor exploiters.

Capitalist Propaganda Runs into "Sales Resistance"

By M. Stein

There is one highly interesting theme that's long gone begging for an author. We hope the right man will soon come along to do a rounded study of the people's ability to become immunized to the powerful indoctrination and opinion-molding machine which operates at top speed to standardize American thought.

The operations of this machine, particularly the press, have been treated in such books as Seldes' **Lords of the Press** and Lundberg's **America's Sixty Families.** The Big Business monopoly of the press is a well-established fact. It advocates, with one voice and minor variations, the line of the National Association of Manufacturers, plumping without shame or restraint for the most reactionary policies of the monopolists.

SIGNIFICANT RESISTANCE

We do not know of a single serious work dealing with the people's resistance to this incessant pounding. Yet this resistance is considerable. The recent elections gave us one example. A majority of the voters defied the lords of the press and the radio, and rejected the man this propaganda machine had set out to put over as the next president.

Or take another significant case which has just come to light. The Jan. 1 issue of Business Week **carries a Psychological Corp. survey according to which 20.9% of the people flatly reject the idea that this country must have private capitalism in order to have democracy. This identification of democracy with the rule of monopolies is the task of tasks of their huge propaganda mill. And the NAM mouthpiece is naturally alarmed that so large a minority refuses to place faith in the democratic virtues of capitalism.**

Business Week complains: "A poor selling job has been done so far on the good features of our capitalistic society if at least one person out of five is certain that private capitalism is not an essential part of a democratic nation." They hasten to add that "the further revelation that 21.7% have no fixed opinion about private ownership indicates that there are many who still may be sold if enough effort is expended."

This alarm is quite understandable. 42.6% of the people already either reject this capitalist propaganda or remain unconvinced by it. They may very well at the next stage conclude that capitalism is in reality the mortal enemy of democracy and then decide to do something about it. If so a large minority sees no democratic virtues in capitalism or is skeptical about them at this time under the conditions of economic boom, what will happen when this boom runs its course and ends, as it must, in a bust?

WHERE CAPITALISM FAILED

To say that capitalism hasn't done a good enough selling job is both false and true. It is false so far as its propaganda efforts are concerned. In this respect everything humanly possible has been done. From the cradle to the grave everyone of us is subjected to an incessant pounding on the virtues of capitalism. The school system, the pulpit, the press, the radio, the movies—they all do their part in extolling capitalism and damning socialism. Where capitalism has failed is not in its propaganda efforts, but in its performance as a system. And not only in this country, but on a world scale.

Our generation has seen the rise of fascism—the deadly enemy of democracy — on the very foundations of capitalism. We have witnessed the brutal capitalist suppression of the colonial peoples fighting for the democratic right of self-determination. Right now in this country we are witnessing not the extension of democracy, but its curtailment and the introduction of the police state methods of wtich-hunts and loyalty purges.

Finally, every worker in his daily experience can observe capitalism operate as the very negation of democracy. He makes his living in the factory, mine or workshop, where he is subjected to the autocratic rule of employers who wield their power not because they were democratically elected to their posts, but through the plutocratic hierarchy which is the very antithesis of the democratic process.

It is this glaring contradiction between life's experiences and the sugary lies of the capitalist propaganda machine which creates the sales resistance among the people.

What we see here is not the failure of capitalism to do a good "selling job" but the growing disillusionment with capitalism by people once completely sold on the system. This trend is not specifically American—it is world-wide. If anything, our people are in this respect behind the thinking of peoples in other countries whose experiences in the struggle to safeguard and extend democracy have taught them that capitalism is the mortal enemy of real democracy. Many of them have learned that only in the struggle for a socialist order can democracy really find its fulfillment.

AGAINST THE TREND

The strong current of opposition to capitalist indoctrination in this country reported by the Psychological Corp. survey is particularly impressive since it runs counter to what appear on the surface to be the current trends. Since the end of the war we have been subjected to a red-baiting campaign of gigantic proportions. There has not been an agency for molding public opinion that has not taken part in this campaign. Included are agencies bearing the official stamp of the government, the unofficial stamp of monopoly capitalism, as well as the church hierarchy and the union officialdom.

This red-baiting campaign has swept along scores and hundreds of intellectuals, who, not so long ago, helped articulate the people's opposition to capitalist rule. This about-face by the intellectuals has transformed them into apologists for the vilest features of capitalism. An individual like Eugene Lyons, for example, who in the Twenties participated actively in the great protest movement against the legal lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti and wrote a book on that epic struggle, today sings paeans to the "misunderstood" Herbert Hoover.

These articulate elements have helped inundate the country with pro-capitalst propaganda. They have helped create the impression that the opposition to capitalism was no more, that the voice of rebellion has been drowned out. Even among revolutionists there have been a few who became deceived by these outward appearances and felt themselves isolated.

MORE QUESTIONING THAN BEFORE

But the truth is that there is more thinking going on today among the mute masses than ever before. There is more questioning, more widespread opposition to the system which passes from the misery of economic crisis through devastation of war to inflationary boom—only in order to repeat again this cycle—crisis, war, inflation.

Intellectuals who are quick to learn are very frequently even quicker in forgetting. The great mass which learns by its hard experiences remembers its lessons well. To revolutionists this report of how widespread really is the mass opposition to capitalism is an infallible indication that there is fertile soil for the building of the revolutionary party. It is a challenge to us to reach the masses of American workers and imbue in them the conviction that the struggle for socialism articulates their innermost feelings, thoughts and aspirations.

TRUMAN SUGAR-COATS MILITARISM PROGRAM

(Continued from page 1)

Prussian-type military control that the reform proposals of Truman must be viewed. Then it can be seen now meager and temporary these proposed reforms are.

HOUSING INADEQUACY

Nothing makes the contrast so clear as Truman's specific program on the most acute and pressing social problem in America today—housing. Housing experts agree that we need, for the adequate housing of America's growing population, not less than 25 million new housing units in the shortest possible time. Truman in his message proposed a government low-cost building program of—one million units in the next seven years! That wouldn't even make up for the annual loss of housing due to deterioration, fire and flood. He himself said: "Five million families are still living in slums and firetraps. Three million families share their homes with others."

He admitted the gross inadequacy of the social security system, in which a third of the workers are not covered, and which provides the starvation pittance of $25 a month on the average to the pauperized aged. Truman said the coverage should be extended and the sums increased—but he mentioned nothing specific. He was equally vague when it came to the details of his proposed health insurance bill, extension of unemployment insurance benefits, etc. Even if present benefis were doubled, remember, they would only be restored to their purchasing power of 1939. Moreover, this entire program is to be paid ou of new payroll taxes on the workers.

On the most publicized promise of his campaign, to press for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act Truman is openly hedging. He is not for unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and restoration intact of the Wagner Act, as most of labor had demanded. He proposes to restore some of the worst features of the Taft-Hartley Act in the form of an "improved" Wagner Act which, he said, calls for "means.. for settling or preventing strikes in vital industries which affect the public interest." His advisors have spelled this out as injunctive powers, "cooling off" periods and "fact-finding" governmental boards—all key clauses of the Taft-Hartley Act.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Truman devoted just five sentences to his much-promised civil rights program — a key pledge of his campaign. He merely stated that he still stood on his program of last year, including an anti-poll tax law, anti-lynching law and a Fair Employment Practices Commission. It remains to be seen whether he will really fight for these things, or continue as in the past to merely repeat them for the record.

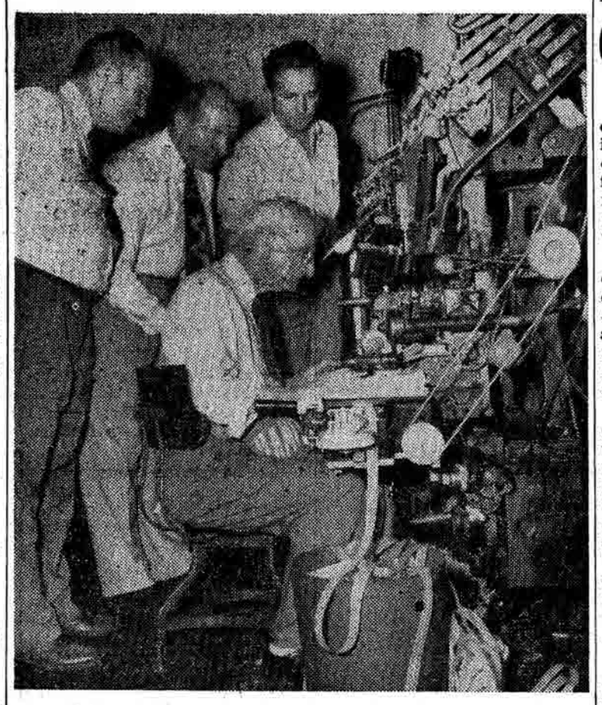
But we know that Truman is not doing anything to end conditions of racial discrimination and segregation where he can act right now. As Commander-in-Chief of all the armed forces he could end military segregation with a simple executive order—but he doesn't do so. As Chief Executive he could end discrimination and segregation in the rest of the government departments and agencies—but he doesn't do so.

Meanwhile, in spite of the protests of the CIO and other labor organizations, he is continuing and extending his Gestapo-like witch-hunt among government employes and is victimizing individuals and organizations on the basis of his "subversive" political blacklist. He is sponsoring revision of the Espionage Act to legalize the present invasion of constitutional rights being perpetrated in his "loyalty" purge.

One thing Truman was most specific on—another $4 billion in taxes must be raised. He said these must be raised from the corporations "principally." But he said not a word on the quickest and surest way to get these taxes—the restoration of the excess profits tax that the Democratic-controlled 79th Congress abolished. That's the tax above all, the corporations don't want restored. And Truman indicated he's respecting their wishes.

The Trumanite labor leaders have promptly hailed Truman's message as a "Fair Deal." On cold analysis it is a War Deal, with some sops for the people thrown in. It solves none of the basic problems now facing the masses. It promises new burdens when the full program of militarism is unfolded.

Designed for Strikebreaking



When members of the International Typographical Union (AFL) went on strike, publishers of the Miami Herald brought out this new gadget to bypass the pickets. It's a linotype machine which sets type from tape fed to it by a teletype attachment.

23,777 TORONTO VOTES CAST FOR ROSS DOWSON

(Continued from page 1)

ests, is outraged: "Toronto prides itself upon being a loyal democratic community, yet one out of five of those casting votes for a mayor supported a man whose party wants to start a revolution."

And Mayor Hiram E. McCallum expressed the fear in the heart of the Canadian capitalist class as a whole when he said, "I think almost every vote Dowson got was a Communist vote. I think there are at least 23,777 Communists in Toronto."

Dowson was the only opponent of the Tory incumbent, McCallum, who polled 97,715. The failure of organized labor to challenge boss control of the highest civic office thrust this big job on the shoulders of the RWP. Despite the limited resources of the Canadian Trotskyists, they were able to plan and carry through the most effective campaign in their history.

VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN

From the start, Dowson took the offensive against the capitalist candidates and their system, and he never lost it. He ran as a worker and a Trotskyist, on a program of militant labor demands, stressing the need for a fundamental socialist change.

Over 40,000 copies of the party's election manifesto and paper, **Labor Challenge,** were distributed at factory gates and door-to-door in the working class districts. The Toronto branch's sound-truck, equipped with election slogans, helped mobilize the class-conscious labor vote behind Dowson.

Twice during the campaign the party was able to put its candidate on the air for ten minute talks. A third opportunity was presented on election night, when Dowson emphasized that his vote expressed the rising class consciousness of the workers and that it was a vote for a program — for socialism.

The effectiveness of our campaign was apparent in two ways. On the one hand, the hostility of the capitalist press and political stooges was greatly increased over last year. Then we were treated as something of a curiosity, and got considerable publicity in the press. This time, we were recognized as a serious political force, and were almost completely blacked out.

On the other hand, we enjoyed the increased interest and support of the workers. Our distributors were treated very sympathetically at plant gates. Dowson got warm applause in CCF working class areas. Letters and callers, expressing sympathy or seeking information, began arriving at our headquarters.

In marked contrast to the RWP campaign was that of the Stalinists. Stewart Smith campaigned on a purely personal, non-party and non-class basis. According to him, the trouble with the Council was not its class nature, but its incompetence and bungling, because it lacked the "sound administrative ability" of Smith.

STALINIST LINE

On the demand for a 1,000-unit low-rent housing project, sponsored by the CCL, Smith lined up with Tory McCallum against the labor movement with the boss argument that there is "no room" for more houses within the city.

The CCF met complete defeat in this election primarily because it, too, ran on a non-class basis. In most of the wards the candidates did not even run as CCFers, and thousands of workers therefore could not identify them. This accounts for the low CCF vote, which the RWP topped in ward after ward.

The encouraging RWP vote and the bitter fruits of Stalinist and CCF opportunism must certainly have raised considerable doubts in the minds of Stalinist and CCF members over the policies of their leaders. It has established Trotskyism as a force in Toronto politics. As Dowson said in his statement to the press: "The RWP poll reveals that it is making great headway and confirms our confidence that it will conquer over its enemies and usher in the peace, freedom and planning of socialism."

Tenant Group Dance In Harlem Jan. 14

NEW YORK—The first annual dance of the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League will be held at the Central Ballroom, 120 W. 125th St., Fri., Jan. 14 at 9 P. M. Kenneth Major's Dance Band will provide rhythm and melody.

The league, formed in 1947 to protect residents of the present Stephen Foster site against an eviction threat by the City Housing Authority, is active in defending the tenants' rights and securing adequate maintenance of the buildings. Proceeds of the dance will go to help this activity.

Degeneration of Socialist Party

(Continued from page 1)

writers and union officials thereupon split the party, formed the Social Democratic Federation, and supported Roosevelt in the 1936 election.

Freed from the dead weight of the old right wing, and reinforced by new detachments of experienced revolutionary socialists, the SP could have become a dynamic force in the working class political movement. But the Norman Thomas wing shrank from class-struggle policies; clung to their forlorn hope of gradually reforming capitalism toward socialism; imposed gag laws upon the party membership; and in 1937 expelled the revolutionists.

When war came, the party of Norman Thomas shed its pacifist pretenses to openly support American imperialism. Today, they are fellow-travelers of the State Department in the cold war against the Soviet Union. The proposed "Social Budget" is their "socialist" camouflage for that support.

Thomas and his followers have degenerated into war-supporting, middle-class minded liberals. They are rotten-ripe for unity with their blood-brothers of the Social Democratic Federation.

They are prepared ideologically for intimate collaboration with the social-democratic agents of European capitalism and stooges of American imperialism, who "visit the United States in connection with United Nations proceedings."

The party of Norman Thomas has forfeited any claim to leadership in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

World Events

By Joseph Hansen

Australian Workers Help Indonesians by Dutch Ship Boycott

The maritime workers in Australia are helping the Indonesian people in their struggle against Dutch imperialism by a boycott on Dutch ships.

In Sidney, the longshoremen voted not to work any Dutch ships. In Melbourne, work is banned on all vessels bound for Indonesian ports in Dutch hands.

The tugboat workers refuse to handle Dutch ships, making it difficult for them to dock; and the Ships Painters and Dockers Union will not perform any repairs.

The militant Australian maritime workers have thus set a magnificent example for organized labor everywhere. Similar action by American trade unions would help slow down the war machine of Dutch imperialism and assist the Indonesian people in hurling back the foreign invaders of their land.

* * *

Manifesto of World Congress Published In Chinese Language

The Manifesto of the Second World Congress of the Fourth International has been translated into Chinese and published as a pamphlet by the New Banner Group.

The Second World Congress, which met last year in Paris, deliberated on the danger of another war and the problems facing the working class throughout the world in organizing revolutionary struggle against the reactionary forces preparing that war.

The main conclusions of this second congress of the world Trotskyist movement were drawn up in the form of a Manifesto addressed to workers everywhere. It was published in serial form in **The Militant** last summer.

The New Banner Group does not officially belong to the Fourth International. The official section in China is the Revolutionary Communist Party.

* * *

New Ruhr Authority Paves Comeback for German Capitalists

The Western Powers on Dec. 28 announced that they had set up an International Authority for the Ruhr which excludes Soviet participation. The nations included are the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg; that is, the powers now meeting in secret in Washington to draw up a far-reaching military alliance for war on the Soviet Union.

The new set-up for Allied rule of the Ruhr thus widens the breach with Moscow and marks another step in the preparations for World War III.

As usual, this is pictured as a peace move. It is intended "to assure disarmament and demilitarization of Germany," claims the agreement. And the Authority is told "to prevent persons who furthered the aggressive designs of the Nazis from acquiring ownership, interests or positions of direction and management in those industries."

However, the real aims are different from the public pronouncements. N. Y. Times correspondent James Reston, commenting from Washington on the step, declares that U. S. authorities are thinking in terms of a possible Russian war within a year or so. Whatever the time table may be, the Ruhr is of enormous importance in preparing for this war. As the forge of Europe, it is vital to the production of either peace or wartime goods.

Under Allied domination, the Ruhr industries will inevitably be geared into the war machine now under construction. The first step is to speed the wheels of the Ruhr industries. Even if major emphasis is placed for a time on civilian needs, this can quickly be changed in accordance with the military requirements of the occupying powers.

Significantly, the Ruhr agreement does not repudiate the infamous Law No. 75 promulgated by General Clay on Nov. 10. This law, under guise of breaking up German cartels, called for German trusteeship of certain industries. General Clay followed up Dec. 14 with an order to return certain coal mines and steel companies to their former capitalist owners.

Like the commutation of the sentences of former prominent Nazis, this was an obvious political gesture designed to hearten and encourage the German capitalist class as prospective allies in the projected assault on the USSR.

Clay's decree brushed aside the state constitution approved by the military government which provided for the socialization of these industries in accordance with the popular vote taken on this issue. Socialization of the Ruhr industries would place this key industrial region in the hands of the German people and destroy the power of the capitalist class to divert it to war production.

But that would throw a kink into the war plans of Anglo-American imperialism. That is why they forestalled socialization by decreeing an "International" authority as a transition to returning the German capitalists and Nazis to full power in the Ruhr.

* * *

German Trotskyists Publish Second Issue Of Die Internationale

The December 1948 issue of **Die Internationale,** magazine of the German Trotskyist movement, has been received by Pioneer Publishers.

The table of contents is as follows: Germany as the Object of World Politics; Notes on the World Situation; German Economy after the Monetary Reform; Is There a Von Paulus Army?; The Sixth Plenum of the International Executive • Committee and its Resolutions; France Faces a Decision; The Yugoslav Question and the Crisis of Stalinism; Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution (Trotsky); The General Strike of November 13; A Classic Marxist Work on the Jewish Question; Correspondence of **Die Internationale.**

Copies of the magazine can be obtained by sending 25 cents to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Renewal Rate Rose As the Year Ended

The year-end holidays brought 159 **Militant** renewals and 30 new subs. These included 42 subs in combination with the monthly theoretical magazine, **Fourth International.**

Most of the total came direct by mail from the subscribers, but **Detroit** and **Boston** each sent 16 to tie for holiday top place among the branches. Boston had others ready to send in soon.

Many other renewals and new subs were believed already in the mail before the new year. All subs paid for direct or to branches last year will be entered at the 1948 rates.

However, several readers, rushing renewals in to avoid missing any copies, paid at the new higher rates, or added donations. We appreciate this co-operation.

* * *

"I must tell you I enjoy reading your paper," wrote J.A.P. of Minneapolis. "It tells me something about the unions I belong to."

* * *

"I had decided not to take any paper of any kind," wrote L.B.C. of Ohio, "but find I have to take The Militant to see where we are going. I am determined not to take back what we have advocated for 40 years. I know we are right. . . I will never compromise at this age.

"If we all quit we are whipped, so send me the paper.

"I know The Militant costs more to print than the price."

* * *

"I will send in more subs tomorrow," wrote Rena Breshi of Boston.

* * *

"We are having a renewal drive right after the first of the year," reported Joy for Chicago.

* * *

Most branches were also paying up or arranging to pay up their bundle accounts, which some had neglected during the year.

DEADLINE FOR ADS

All branches wishing to place ads in **The Militant** must have the copy in the Editorial office no later than Tuesday morning

Italian Readers

Copies of the 3rd issue of the Italian Marxist magazine, 4.a Internazionale, are now on sale.

CONTENTS

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TROTSKY

"In the last analysis, all the problems of our planet will be decided upon American soil. There is much in favor of the idea that from the standpoint of revolutionary order, Europe and the East stand ahead of the United States. But a course of events is possible in which this order might be broken in favor of the proletariat of the United States. . . We must not for a minute lose sight of the fact that the might of American capitalism rests more and more upon a foundation of world economy with its contradictions and crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the beginning. Hence the conclusion: "It is necessary to prepare."

—Leon Trotsky, 1929

LENIN

Truman's Military Budget

Truman preceded his "State of the Union" message with an elaborate propaganda campaign to impress the American people with his desire to "economize" and thereby limit the tremendous tax load.

He has been shadow-boxing with the military departments and agencies over the size of the military budget. Truman says he will not support a direct military budget of more than $15 billion for the next fiscal year, unless "further evaluation" calls for it. The military spokesmen argue that they can't get along with a nickle less than $17½ billion.

Let's look a bit more closely at this $15 billion "bargain" Truman is selling. It happens to be, in the words of the *N. Y. Times*, "the most costly effort of its kind ever undertaken by the United States." As a matter of fact, his military budget for 1950 "is the most audacious for any non-war period in American history."

Indeed, it takes something more than audacity—more nearly downright deception and dishonesty—to try to palm off the "most costly" military program in U. S. peacetime history as an "economy." And that doesn't take into account many billions more for military preparations abroad in the form of "foreign aid" and for the universal military training program as proposed once more by Truman.

A year ago Truman asked for an $11 billion military budget, but he didn't resist when Congress voted expenditures of nearly $14 billion. Now he's demanding an "economical" 40% increase over last year's budget figure and you can bet your boots he won't veto any bill for more than $15 billion if the top monopoly circles decide to splurge beyond Truman's "maximum."

All this Truman talk of "economy" is designed to smokescreen the essential fact of Truman's program—that it is saddling the tax-payers, and that means principally the workers and working farmers, with a gigantic and permanent military burden. That burden will be immeasurably greater this year than last, and still heavier the year after. It means that no matter what Truman promises by way of social improvements, the wealth produced by the labor of the American working people is going to feed a voracious war machine instead of improving living standards.

Don't Wait Until the "Bust"

For some years the AFL has maintained a Shorter Work-Week Committee, headed by Daniel W. Tracy, president of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The object of this committee is to campaign for the 30-hour week, six-hour day, as the AFL's program to meet any threat of mass unemployment.

Nothing much was heard from this committee until the other day when Tracy issued a press statement that "we don't know how long present employment will continue, but we must be prepared to move toward a shorter work week." He expressed a rather optimistic view of immediate economic prospects, however, and reported that the AFL's campaign is merely in the "preparedness stage" and that there will be no real drive for the 30-hour week at least until the next AFL convention in October.

October is 10 months off and no one can say with confidence when the "boom" is going to bust. At most the business forecasters speak only of "cautious optimism"—which is to say they hope for the best, but they're not offering odds.

It's a foolish man who waits until his appendix bursts before he submits to proper medical treatment. And it would be just as foolish for labor to wait until millions are walking the streets before fighting for a program to keep the greatest number working through the shorter work-week.

The United Mine Workers intends to make the shorter work week—reportedly the 30-hour week, six-hour day—a basic demand in its next contract negotiations. That's a wise move and an example the rest of the labor movement would do well to follow.

Certainly the least the unions should fight for right now is a clause in every contract providing for the automatic reduction of the work-week, with no loss in weekly take-home pay, in the event the employer claims he cannot provide enough work to retain all workers now employed. The employers are hot for the "right to work" of scabs when it comes to banning closed-shop contracts. Make them respect the right to work of decent union men.

At the same time, a united nation-wide aggressive campaign must be launched by the unions for the establishment of the universal 30-hour week, six-hour day, with no reductions in weekly pay. Production has doubled since 1939. Capitalism will "produce" the workers right out of their jobs if labor doesn't win some of the benefits of increased productivity in the form of shorter hours and higher wages.

New Developments in Kutcher Case

Ever since the beginning of the Kutcher case, certain liberals have predicted that the government would surely restore the Newark veteran to his VA job because of the "special circumstances" surrounding this case — namely, the fact that Kutcher lost both legs in the war.

These predictions were renewed in the pre-election period when Attorney General Clark, after meeting personally with the legless veteran, announced that he was favorably impressed with Kutcher's war record and would discuss it with Gen. Gray of the VA.

And these predictions were redoubled after the "great liberal victory" of Nov. 2, when these liberals reassured us that now the administraton certainly would reconsider the case.

The latest developments in the case, reported on Page 1 of this issue, should serve as a real eye-opener to the liberals who really believed what they were predicting.

They should also convince the most naive people that the Kutcher fight against the blacklist will not be won, despite the "special circumstances" and despite the "liberal election victory," unless it gets active and aggressive support from every fighter for civil rights.

The Loyalty Review Board's Memorandum No. 32, issued six weeks AFTER the elections, puts an end to all pretenses about fair and impartial consideration of individual purge cases by making it MANDATORY to dismiss all government employess belonging to groups allegedly seeking to alter the form of government by "unconstitutional means."

This means that when Kutcher's case comes before the Loyalty Review Board, as it soon will, the proceedings, will be as cut-and-dried as a kangaroo court.

There will be no consideration at the hearing before this board of the legality of Truman's executive order establishing the purge.

There will be no consideration of the fact that the administration is penalizing its political opponents by "unconstitutional means."

There will be no consideration of the arbitrary manner in which one man, the Attorney General, included organizations on his blacklist without offering any evidence and without affording the accused a public hearing to answer the charges against them.

There will be no consideration of the question whether or not the Socialist Workers Party is really "subversive."

If that is justice, if that constitutes the fair hearing which Kutcher was promised, then the Reichstag trial was also just and the Moscow trials were models of impartiality.

In the light of Memorandum No. 32 and the government's obvious intention to stand firm on the Kutcher dismissal, the "special circumstances" in his case, which have been embarrassing to the government, only emphasize the calculated viciousness of the purge as a whole. They give warning that only a movement of determined mass protest can end the system of thought-control by which the government is imitating the practices of a police state.

New Book on Sacco-Vanzetti

Full Story of 1927 Murder of Two Working Class Fighters

THE LEGACY OF SACCO AND VANZETTI by G. Louis Joughin and Edmund M. Morgan, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948, 598 x xvii pp., $6.

By Paul Schapiro

When Sacco and Vanzetti were electrocuted in 1927, the news of their death had a profound effect on millions throughout the world. The case of these two hitherto obscure Italian immigrant anarchists accused of hold-up and murder had provoked intense passions and great struggles. Now, 21 years later, two distinguished professors, G. Louis Joughin and Edmund M. Morgan, have published a book which attempts to analyze this case and to study its impact upon American law, society and literature.

The labor which has gone into this book is very great. Morgan, one of the foremost authorities on the law of evidence in the bourgeois legal world, has carefully gone over all of the court records. Joughin has plowed through the enormous literature on the case in order to discuss its social and literary effects.

The result is a work of scholarship which is definitive in the sense that it has amassed and presented in organized form a far greater amount of material than was ever presented before, but which requires correction in much of its evaluation of the significance of the case.

For the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, victims of capitalist justice, as they themselves were well aware, cannot be really understood without a knowledge of how the government and the various institutions of society act as agencies of its ruling class — and this is beyond the ken of these dwellers upon the academic heights.

LEGALISTIC APPROACH

Moreover, the authors are unduly timid in what they have to say on the question of the guilt or innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. We cannot know that Sacco and Vanzetti were not guilty, they conclude; we can only know that they were not proven guilty. "In the Sacco-Vanzetti affair American justice was tragically inept. And since justice failed we consider it inevitable that both literary tradition and historical judgment will continue to support the presumption that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent of the crime for which they were executed."

Much more than this can, however, be said. If I were to charge that President Lowell of Harvard, the leading member of Governor Fuller's committee which advised him that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty, was the hold-up man who shot and killed without warning the paymaster and the guard, his heirs would almost certainly be unable to prove by alibi or otherwise that he was not. Such a charge levelled against this blue-blood aristocrat would, however, be regarded not merely as unproven but fantastic.

And fantastic it would be — but not more fantastic than the same charge of vicious, money-seeking murder without political motivation against the men with the philosophy of life and the beauty and strength of character revealed in the letters of Sacco and Vanzetti, a philosophy and a character that was such that Sacco would not sign a petition for executive clemency which might conceivably have saved his life because it was against his political principles and that Vanzetti, on being told by one of his lawyers that he might save him at the possible expense of Sacco by stressing that the state's case against him was weaker than its case against his comrade, replied: "Save Nick. He has the woman and child."

For Morgan and Joughin the Sacco-Vanzetti affair was "a tragic miscarriage of justice," brought about by a fever of prejudice, chauvinism and hysteria in society. The origin and nature of this fever they do not explain. They are content with recommending legislative enactments such as giving the accused the privilege of being tried by a judge or body of judges instead of by a jury to "decrease the chances of miscarriage of justice" in cases involving "community hostility" — and this after demonstrating in their own account the prejudice of Thayer, the trial judge, of Dean Wigmore, "the author of the most comprehensive treatise ever published on the law of evidence," and of President Lowell, "the official representative of New England culture."

As for the line-up of forces in the case, Morgan and Joughin find on the side of Sacco and Vanzetti those who "to some degree grasped the fundamental quality of democracy" and opposed to them those who did not. In the 1920's there was not in "the opinions held by the people of this country. . . a preponderance of sane democratic thought." Hence the execution of the two anarchists. The Marxist interpretation they reject because there were workers who wanted Sacco and Vanzetti killed and rich persons who supported them.

NAIVE MISUNDERSTANDING

The objection Morgan and Joughin raise stems from a naive misunderstanding of Marxism. If backward workers did not support Sacco and Vanzetti, it was because they had not freed themselves from the way of thinking impressed on them by the institutions and ideologists of the capitalists. The trial had its origin in the Palmer raid anti-radical hysteria of the bourgeoisie, frightened by the Bolshevik Revolution. Once the issues were joined, the representatives of the bourgeoisie felt that they could not retreat.

That some individual capitalists did not go along with their class and their institutional representatives on this issue does not alter the fact that the institutions of capitalist society revealed their class bias: The press exhibited its "functional degeneration," suppressing facts of which it was aware. The church was "open to rebuke" for its general silence, which the authors find "both puzzling and disappointing." The "world of higher education," as well as "all other groups which one ordinarily thinks of as concerned with social problems," was not "markedly more responsive than the church." The practicing members of the legal profession

The two victims of capitalist frame-up, Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, are shown here under armed guard shortly after they were sentenced to death in Massachusetts.

opposed Sacco and Vanzetti for causes which "are not pleasant to contemplate." It is this shrinking from contemplating causes which gives the book its weaknesses.

CAPITALIST LIBERALISM

The Sacco-Vanzetti case in reality marked the bankruptcy of the bourgeois liberalism and the conservative **noblesse oblige** for which Joughin and Morgan stand. The only reason why the electrocution of Sacco and Vanzetti was delayed for seven years and they were not done away with quietly and obscurely was the fight put up by revolutionists and working-class militants all over the world. When the bourgeois liberals gained ascendancy in the Defense Committee they carried on the case as an effort to rectify a "miscarriage of justice." La Guardia and John Haynes Holmes counseled faith in Governor Fuller, although La Guardia knew of Fuller's red-baiting oratory when both were members of Congress. The verdict of Fuller's Advisory Committee after its closed hearings exposed the weakness of bourgeois liberalism.

Sacco and Vanzetti themselves realized the true nature of their case. Vanzetti wrote to the Internatipnal Labor Defense, at that time an organization not yet Stalinized, whose secretary was James P. Cannon, which defended all political victims of capitalism regardless of political differences:

"I repeat, I will repeat to the last, only the people, our comrades, our friends, the world revolutionary proletariat can save us from the powers of the capitalist reactionary hyenas, or vindicate our names and our blood before history. . . There are some who think that our case is a trial for a common crime; that our friends should contest our innocence but not turn the case into a political issue, because it would only damage us. Well, I could answer to them all that our case is more than a political case, is a case of class war in which our enemies are personally interested to lose us — not only for class purposes but for personal passions, resentments, and fear. . ."

THE REAL LEGACY

The legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti is not the legacy of faith in bourgeois democracy which Joughin and Morgan present to us, that bourgeois democracy which their trial demonstrated to be fundamentally a sham and which is hardening into rigid authoritarianism as the monopolies tighten their grip on the economy and militarism grows.

Their legacy is the faith in the victory of the workers over the plutocrats and in their ability to do away with oppression and establish a classless society which Vanzetti voiced, in that English which, though broken, is the admiration of professors of English, when he said to Judge Thayer: "Sacco's name will live in the hearts of the people and in their gratitude when Katzmann's [the prosecuting attorney] and your bones will be dispersed by time, when your name, his name, your laws, institutions, and your false god are but a deep remembering of a cursed past in which man was wolf to man."

SP Record Vs. Ours on Indonesia

By Joseph Hansen

The Dec. 24 issue of *Socialist Call* carries a letter from Norman Thomas to an unnamed "Dutch Socialist leader" appealing for opposition from the Netherlands Social Democratic Labor Party to the imperialist conquest of Indonesia: "Unless the Labor Party in the Netherlands should promptly protest this action, the reputation of democratic Socialism throughout the world will be sadly tarnished."

At first sight it might appear that Thomas is standing on firm socialist principles in calling on the Dutch Social Democrats to oppose the foreign policy of their capitalist government. Could a socialist commit a more monstrous crime against the principles of socialism than supporting blitzkrieg war on the Indonesians, murder of the freedom fighters, crushing of the independence movement and the restoration of imperialist rule over the Indonesian people?

However, something beside concern over socialist principles is back of Thomas's letter of admonition to his Dutch co-thinkers. First of all, one notes a complete absence of enthusiasm for the cause of the Indonesian Republic. This American Social Democrat, who is touted in some circles as the outstanding "moral hero" of our time, does not hesitate to repeat in his own way the Dutch imperialist propaganda about Indonesian "provocation": "I do not necessarily attribute great efficiency or complete virtue to the government of the young Republic. I can well believe that negotiations with it have not always been easy."

This coolness toward the Indonesian Republic is all the more extraordinary in view of the fact that many of the leaders of the government put down by the Dutch despots were "socialists" holding the same general views as Norman Thomas and his Dutch correspondent.

HIS REAL CONCERN

Secondly, there is not a trace of anger with the Dutch Social Democrats for supporting Dutch imperialism. "You may even want to argue that your Government's expedition will really be welcomed by the Javanese," says the ineffable Thomas. Such a foul argument from a Social Democrat in behalf of Dutch imperialism would make even a dish-water liberal boil over, you might think. But not Thomas. His top emotional register is Milquetoast expostulation — tempered with anxiety that "our Dutch comrades should understand. . ."

The real concern of Norman Thomas is not at all over socialist principles. He is worried about something else. He fears that the "high-handed action" of the Dutch might push the people of Indonesia and Asia towards "Communism," by which he means Stalinism mainly but also revolutionary socialism. And he fears that the war against Indonesia might "discredit" the Marshall Plan, thus jeopardizing the military alliance of Western European powers against the Soviet Union and their preparations for the projected World War III.

Both of these fears have been expressed by spokesmen of the U. S. State Department who dislike the lack of finesse displayed by Dutch imperialism in smashing the Republic of Indonesia. Thus the U. S. State Department and its forebodings over the Indonesian situation loom behind the Norman Thomas letter. **It is not as a socialist but as a supporter of the foreign policy of American imperialism that Norman Thomas writes to his Dutch fellow Social Democrats, advising them not to support the foreign policy of Dutch imperialism. This "moral hero" preaches, "Do as I say; not as I do."**

SHARE THE GUILT

There is an instructive political lesson in this episode. The U. S. State Department felt embarrassed over the brazen cynicism of its Dutch ally in attacking the Indonesians. As a face-saving gesture of remonstrance, it cut off the trickle of Marshall Plan aid to the East Indies while continuing that aid to the Netherlands where it counts the most in the war against Indonesia.

Norman Thomas felt embarrassed over the brazen cynicism his fellow Social Democrats would reveal in supporting this rapacious Dutch imperialist venture. As a face-saving gesture he addressed a letter of remonstrance to one of the Dutch Labor Party leaders while continuing fraternal relations with these assistants in colonial conquest.

Clearly, the Dutch Social Democrats and Norman Thomas share the guilt of the Netherlands government and the U. S. State Department in the crushing of the Indonesian independence movement. The Dutch Social Democrats serve as high-pressure salesmen for Dutch rule in Indonesia. Norman Thomas serves as a high-pressure salesman for the Marshall Plan through which the State Department built up the Dutch war machine.

When Norman Thomas admonishes the Dutch Social Democrats about supporting imperialism, it's an obvious case of the pot calling the kettle black.

TROTSKYIST RECORD

Contrast the record of the Trotskyist movement. In the Netherlands, the Revolutionary Communist Party, Dutch section of the Fourth International, has consistently opposed Dutch imperialism. One of its main slogans since it came out of the underground struggle against Nazism

NORMAN THOMAS

has been, "Free Indonesia from Holland Now!"

The Dutch Trotskyists defend the cause of the Indonesian Republic. Year in and year out they have patiently and persistently explained to the Dutch workers the imperative need of solidarizing with the Indonesians and joining with them in militant struggle against Dutch capitalism.

This course required courage but the Dutch Trotskyists have not swerved. International solidarity against oppression is one of the basic principles of socialism. And the Dutch Trotskyists know how to carry out their duty as revolutionary socialists.

Similarly in the United States, the Socialist Workers Party gave full support to the freedom movement of the Indonesian people. From the day the Indonesian Republic declared its independence, the Socialist Workers Party called on the American labor movement to rally to its aid.

The American Trotskyists explained how this colonial struggle weakened the giant corporations like General Motors that have holdings in Indonesia, thereby aiding the American labor movement in its struggle against its enemies at home.

The Socialist Workers Party told the truth about the Marshall Plan and how it would be used to build up militarism in Europe as part of the preparations for another war. Throughout the 3-year struggle of the Indonesian Republic, the Socialist Workers Party exposed the perfidious role of the Truman administration in putting the Dutch despots back in power.

Today the Socialist Workers Party calls for an immediate halt in Marshall Plan aid to Dutch imperialism and for militant intervention by the labor movement in behalf of Indonesia.

Against the record of the genuine socialists the record of the Social Democrats at home and abroad is a "sadly tarnished" one indeed!

CORRECTION

The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee asks for a correction in our Dec. 27 story reporting that Local 107 of the UE in Camden had voted support to James Kutcher. The union referred to was actually Local 103, and the KCRC adds that it implemented its support with a $100 contribution to help the legless veteran.

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THE MILITANT

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"Christian Will to Peace"

By Art Preis

All wrapped in sweetness, light and "Christian love," an atom-bomb was placed symbolically on the doorstep of humanity Christmas day, and by no less a personage than "God's Vicar on Earth," Pope Pius XII. It was his Christmas Eve radio message from the Vatican Palace.

While the devout in many lands sang of "Peace on earth, good will toward men" and "Gentle Jesus, meek and mild," the Pontiff in the Vatican used the occasion for a summons to the capitalist world to prepare for a "holy war" against the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites. The "Spiritual Father" called on the "Christian nations" to join against "aggression" not by prayers alone, but "by force of arms" if necessary.

True enough, Pope Pius XII spoke at length on "peace"—the eternal prayer of the pious at Christmas time. Repeatedly he spoke of the "Christian will to peace." But there was no misunderstanding the holocaust of murder, rapine, loot and destruction which he sanctioned in the name of Jesus, the Man of Peace. The capitalist press in many lands and of many religious hues understood the meaning of the Pope's message under all the religious double-talk. The **N. Y. Times**, on Dec. 25, carried a typical headline:

"POPE ON CHRISTMAS
ASKS NATIONS JOIN
TO NIP AGGRESSION"

"Counsels Christian World to Use Armed Force if Needed—Would Outlaw Offenders"

In what the **Times** called the "most realistic" and "by far the most pessimistic" speech since his advent to the Papal Throne in 1939, Pope Pius exhorted:

"One thing, however, is certain — the commandment of peace is a matter of divine law. Its purpose is the protection of the goods of humanity inasmuch as they are the gifts of the Creator. Among those goods some are of such importance for society that it is perfectly lawful to defend them against unjust aggression. Their defense is even an obligation for the nations as a whole who have a duty not to abandon a nation that is attacked."

His Holiness, although he did not go into details, is especially sensitive on the matter of "goods" that must be defended from "aggression" even if it means a third world war. Among these "goods," for instance, are a trifle of 1,500,000 acres of the best land in Hungary that before the war was owned by the Vatican and on which tens of thousands of serfs toiled for the greater glory of God and the enrichment of Rome. This land is being cut up and parcelled out to Hungarian peasants under the Stalinist rule—surely "an act of aggression" that "the world as a whole" must halt "by force of arms" if necessary.

Nobody misinterpreted the Pope's spech to be a condemnation of the brutal imperialist rape of Indonesia, which the Netherlands, armed by the U. S., brought to a peak of ferocious aggression the very week the Pope spoke. Nor did it have reference to the Viet-Namese, who are being butchered in Indo-China by good French Christian arms. Only a few days before, the Pontiff had sent special "affectionate blessings" to Francisco Franco and the Spanish fascist government. Indeed, the Vatican's concern about "aggression" has come to most recent flower—precisely when its own huge property interests and profits are at stake. When Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, that was "bringing in triumph the Cross of Christ to Ethiopia."

The Vatican, through the Pope's Christmas Eve speech, has shown once again that it is on the side of capitalist reaction, a prop of imperialism. This it uses the name of Jesus and the deepest sentiments of the people for peace to help lead humanity to the hell of atomic war.

Nailing Marx to the Cross

By Paul Abbott

In a radio broadcast Christmas night, H. R. Knickerbocker made a comparison of Jesus Christ and Karl Marx. According to this commentator the birth of Christ was the best news that ever happened on earth while the birth of Marx was the worst news in 2,000 years. Knickerbocker did not reveal his rating of Satan, apparently believing that alongside Karl Marx anything out of hell fades into insignificance.

"Of all the enemies of Christ," Knickerbocker declaimed, "none has proved so swiftly powerful as Karl Marx. . . From Marx came the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. That cost 20 million Russians their lives. From the Bolshevik revolution sprang Adolf Hitler. Without it, Hitler could never have come to power. . . To Karl Marx belongs the responsibility of World War II. It cost 40 million lives. Sixty million dead bodies lie at the door of Karl Marx, to date. That is more than all the victims of the most celebrated killers in history, from Attila and Mohammed to Napoleon. It is more human beings than probably lived in the Western world when Jesus Christ was born."

Who is H. R. Knickerbocker? A humble follower of the legendary Galilean, who in this day and age has taken up the cause of the poor against the rich? No, you will not find this high-pressure phrasemonger in that camp.

H. R. Knickerbocker is a finished product of the ultra-reactionary school of William Randolph Hearst. He is one of the highest paid professional propagandists in Wall Street's publicity stable. He is a cold-blooded, calculating demagogue in the tradition of Joseph Goebbels of Nazi Germany.

That is why Knickerbocker's Christmas broadcast was so obviously shaped according to the Nazi propaganda formula—the bigger the lie, the easier people believe it.

The German capitalist politician, Hitler, deliberately blamed Karl Marx and the Jews for all the ills that are part of the decay of the capitalist system. The American capitalist journalist, Knickerbocker, broadcasts this same poisonous mythology, leaving out the Jews for the time being and concentrating on the major Satanic figure, Karl Marx.

Why do the multi-billionaires and their sycophants like Knickerbocker display such poisonous hatred toward Karl Marx? The reason is this: Karl Marx is guilty of an unforgivable crime in the eyes of the rich. He brought to the cause of the poor and the oppressed the most powerful of weapons, modern scientific theory.

Marx submitted capitalism to scientific analysis. He showed how it arose out of feudal society and how its own inherent development will eventually lead to its downfall and replacement by the superior system of socialism.

Marx worked out a scientific program for the workers to guide them in their struggle against the capitalist class. This program shows humanity how it can escape the frightful poverty, fascism and wars of capitalism and establish the enduring peace, abundance and well-being of socialism.

By calling Karl Marx unholy and nailing him to a cross, the Goebbelses and Knickerbockers think they can kill his ideas. They are just as mistaken as were their ancient predecessors who thought crucifixion of a spiritual leader would end the ferment among the poor.

Portrait of New Congress

By Joseph Keller

Although the 81st Congress when it convened Jan. 3 had many new faces, its general complexion was as reactionary as ever. If you want to know what interests this so-called "liberalized" Congress really represents, you need only study the composition of its membership—and we don't mean merely their party affiliations.

Of the 521 men and women in Congress, there are 301 lawyers—a 58% majority—most of them practitioners in the field of corporation and business law. There are 68 businessmen and 13 bankers. Another 33 are classified as farmers, which covers rich ranch owners, "country gentlemen" who live on big landed estates, factory-farm operators, tenant and sharecrop farm landlords, cotton plantation owners, etc. Most, if not all, of the 415 law-makers in the above categories are obviously directly tied by occupation and previous sources of income to the profit interests.

That leaves 106 who aren't listed as lawyers, businessmen, bankers or landowners. Of the 106, 35 are listed as "politicians and civil servants," which means they customarily make their living as professional functionaries of the Republican or Democratic parties or on government payrolls. Another 31 are designated as "teachers" — not generally to be counted on the side of labor if we can go by the testimony of college professors before recent Congressional hearings.

There are several unionists in the new Congress, who presumably are listed among the 40 designated as "miscellaneous."

Thus, the new Congress, like its predecessors, is made up overwhelmingly of individuals who reflect the ideology of capitalism and who unquestionably put capitalist interests first and foremost.

A majority of the members of Congress are aged time-servers. Because of the "seniority" governing appointment of heads of the powerful committees, most of the committee chairmen in both the House and Senate will be vintaged politicos—mainly Southern Democrats—more than 70 years old. Venerable reaction will draft and steer most of the legislation before Congress—and scuttle progressive measures by devious technicalities.

Notes from the News

SOUND FAMILIAR? — In an article on U. S. policy in Asia, Hanson W. Baldwin, **N. Y. Times** military editor, says: "We must remember, too, that peoples little advanced industrially and politically beyond the eighteenth century are not ready for complete self-government." Why didn't King George III think of that argument against the American colonists in 1776?

* * *

MORE VOTES REPORTED — Another "final" tabulation, as issued by the State Department, gives Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, 13,611 votes; Teichert, SLP—29,240; Thomas, SP—139,543; Wallace, Prog. —1,156,883.

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STALINISTS SORE BUT DON'T ANSWER— The Stalinists were stung by **The Militant's** documented expose last week of how the CP, through Louis Weinstock and others, sabotaged the fight against the Smith Act. They didn't dare to answer it, however. Instead, the **Daily Worker** carried a column about the "degeneration" of New York AFL Painters District Council 9 since the members kicked Weinstock out of office.

JOB FOR DuBOIS — Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who was dismissed from the post of NAACP Research Director last Sept., has taken a post with the Stalinist-dominated Council on African Affairs. The scholar stipulated that his work with the Council "would not be subjected to any form of dictatorship," according to the **N. Y. Times.**

* * *

MORE ON GPU AND TROTSKY MURDER? — Isaac Don Levine, who cooperates closely with the House Un-American Committee and has just returned from Mexico, claims that he found new links there between GPU agents and the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

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BOWLING BIAS ROLLS ON — The mayor of Atlantic City has turned down the CIO's request that he ban the American Bowling Congress tournament in that city's Convention Hall next month because the ABC excludes Negroes from membership.

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ANSWER SCHEDULED — The CIO's proposal for joint action on a legislative program will be answered by the AFL Executive Council meeting in Miami at the end of the month.

Members Alarmed by Political Purge in Maritime Union

By W. F. Herndon

Five months have passed since a rank and file supported slate swept out the Stalinist machine that had controlled the CIO National Maritime Union for over 10 years.

The new administration under the leadership of Joseph Curran began its term with ample credit and good will from the overwhelming majority of the membership. After five months this invaluable capital is slowly but surely melting away. The ominous turn toward a full scale internal political purge and the soft attitude of the administration toward the steamship operators is filling many leading NMU militants with grave apprehension as to the future course and intentions of the Curran administration.

The fighting program that aroused the enthusiasm of the ranks and assured a clean and democratic victory over the discredited Stalinist machine was summed up in one sentence: "Restore the union to the membership!" But the conduct of the Curran leadership is now threatening to snatch the fruits of this victory away from the membership and impose a new machine on the rank and file.

The twice monthly membership meetings most accurately reflect the new turn of events. This is especially true in the Port of New York, whose membership meeting, attended by more than 2000, is the most important in the union. It is here that the top officials of the union appear and face the membership.

Despite the numerous and pressing problems confronting the union in the maritime industry, virtually none of them get to the floor since all business is suspended to make way for the anti-Stalinist purge. This appears to occupy the minds and attention of the administration to the exclusion of everything else.

The same old vicious practices brought into the NMU by the Stalinist hacks are now being employed by the new leadership. All the campaign promises, on the basis of which the members gave the leadership to the Curran group, are now cynically ignored and violated.

PROMISES NOT KEPT

A year ago, for example, the Rrank and File Caucus issued a statement condemning the tactics "employed by the Communist Party to dominate and disrupt our membership meetings [as a] disgrace to our Union and the labor movement." The statement described the CP tactics: "When the meeting opens, the Communist Party Agent appoints CP members only to count the vote for Chairman (then a bitterly fought issue). They try to steal the election, adding to the CP's candidate count and taking votes from the Rank and File count." It advocated the democratic method in which counters are "paired up — one CP and one Rank and Filer for each row, so that they can check each other. This will guarantee an honest count and prevent delaying the meeting by recounts."

In the present meetings the chairman cynically denies the right to a recount, to say nothing of double counters. The administration appointed counters are checked by no one. The vote to expel the last group of Stalinists appeared to most observers to have lost. Yet it was announced to have carried overwhelmingly and the demand for a recount was arbitrarily denied.

The crowning formula for this political purge was given by Curran himself upon his return from the CIO national convention. The Stalinists on the published purge list, **having violated the constitution, are not entitled to the protection and rights guaranteed by the constitution, he said.**

It is as though some police judge confronted with a suspected thief should throw the wretch into the bastille, on the ground that since he allegedly molested private property in violation of the U. S. Constitution, he therefore deserves no defense, trial by jury or right of bail, guaranteed by the constitution.

The union's constitution does not exist if an official can arbitrarily decide who can enjoy its rights and who is denied them. The victim cannot even appeal to the membership against the action of the official.

This happened in the case of Stack, prominent Stalinist leader, who was brought up on charges and was denied the simple right of appearing at the membership meeting. Stack had no choice but to appeal to a state Supreme Court Judge for an order to get him into the meeting.

For many years it has been considered by all class conscious workers something akin to treachery to appeal to cops and courts for intervention in an internal union struggle. They recognized the danger of such action to the labor movement and those few misguided workers who resorted to the courts were badly discredited.

JOSEPH CURRAN

However, bureaucratic and arbitrary suspension of basic democratic rights gives its victim no choice. The old class boycott breaks down and a dangerous precedent is set which can bring much harm to the union itself.

The present situation in the NMU is therefore fraught with the greatest dangers. The way many leading militants see the picture is this: They helped create the Rank and File Caucus to smash the bureaucratic Stalinist machine and restore democracy in the NMU. This program was overwhelmingly endorsed by the rank and file, who swept the Stalinist hacks out of office and replaced them with the spokesmen of the Rank and File Caucus.

Now after scarcely five months in office, the new administration is violating the mandate of the membership, is resorting to the self-same bureaucratic methods of the CP and is thus trampling on the democratic rights of the membership as a whole.

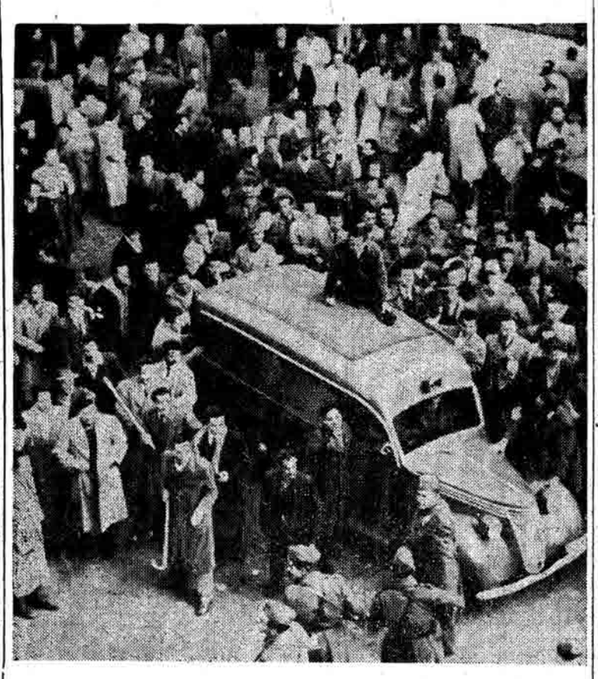
ETERNAL VIGILANCE

Leading union militants therefore have come to the conclusion that the fight for union democracy that was started one-and-a-half years ago by the Rank and File Caucus, far from being won, must in reality be renewed. The fight must be taken up so that the mandate of the membership in the last general election is lived up to. An old American patriot once observed: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty!" That's the situation in the NMU today. Unless the membership is vigilant and aggressively asserts its rights, it will find that it has only smashed one bureaucratic machine to have it replaced with another bureaucratic machine.

Let us remember in regard to the Stalinist hacks that an aroused membership was able to smash this powerfully entrenched machine by the democratic processes of the union. These democratic processes are fully adequate to cope with any anti-union violations or attempts at disruption. **But the Stalinists are not the main danger facing the NMU membership today.** The danger is that the new administration's political purge is giving new strength to the presently discredited Stalinist leaders and if continued, will help build them up again in the eyes of maritime workers.

The leading militants around the old Rank and File Group therefore have the responsibility of seeing that the NMU is steered along the progressive course on the basis of which the Curran administration won the election and thus ensuring that the union will remain a democratic and militant outfit.

Italian Veterans Protest



Brandishing crutches, canes and wooden legs, 2,000 wounded Italian veterans stage angry demonstration in front of the office of Premier de Gasperi in Rome, protesting meager government pensions. Twenty demonstrators were injured.

JUDGE FREES COP-KILLER OF NEGRO YOUTH IN DETROIT

DETROIT—Labor and Negro organizations are aroused over the recent court decision freeing the police murderer of a 15-year old Negro youth. Unions, NAACP, and religious groups have protested the biased decision.

The decision in this case comes on the heels of a wave of police brutality against Negroes. The policy of the department has been to beat and shoot Negroes in process of arrest. The obvious intent, observers point out, is to intimidate the Negro people and prevent any action toward securing their democratic rights.

The latest outrage occurred on Dec. 20, when "Trigger Happy" policeman Louis Melasi was acquitted of charges of manslaughter. The judge commended the cop for being an "alert policeman." His "alertness" was expressed in his clubbing a 15-year old youth into almost insensibility. Then when the youth had staggered away a few feet, he was shot in the back in cold blood.

The cop had ignored civilian bystanders on the scene who volunteered to retrieve the staggering half-conscious boy. The "law" chose to kill rather than arrest.

Jubilant over the court decision, the cop said, "I never had any doubt as to what the verdict would be." Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy, former employee of the Ford Motor Co., reinstated the cop with back pay for the time he was suspended. The suspension was made only after the public had become aroused.

The decision of the judge is so raw that the Mayor's own Interracial Committee has protested.

The NAACP is planning further action.

The Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party issued a public statement denouncing the verdict as "biased," "defending murder," and "aimed against a discriminated minority."

The judge's statement denounced the NAACP as "pink" and the whole case as a Communist-inspired plot.

Observers point out that while "legal" murder of Negroes is common in the South, this is the first time in many a year that the government machinery in Detroit has publicly condoned the process.

Fascists Push Segregation Law

ST. LOUIS — Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party began the new year here with a decision to circulate an initiative petition for a city ordinance making it illegal for whites and Negroes to gather together at public meetings and entertainment places.

Through their local secretary, Don Lohbeck, the fascists announced that they will set up stands on street corners in an attempt to get the signatures of 7% of the registered voters which are necessary to place the question on the ballot.

In explanation, Lohbeck patterned his remarks on the position taken by the U. S. Supreme Court on segregation: "This is not discrimination. We are not against the Negro getting everything he is entitled to, so long as he does it separately from the white man."

The proposed ordinance is based on one now on the books in Birmingham, Ala.

ACEWR Reports On Recent Bazaars

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — The American Committee for European Workers Relief today announced that the recent bazaar held by the New York ACEWR Chapter, netted $1,300, of which $296.34 were contributions. Among the money donated was $12 from the waiters of an East Side restaurant.

The Los Angeles ACEWR Chapter made $850 on its annual bazaar, the Chicago bazaar brought $350, San Francisco's $169 and the Flint, Mich., bazaar, the first such affair held there by the ACEWR, netted $160.

This highly successful bazaar season will enable the ACEWR to renew the stream of relief packages to needy European workers. Lack of finances in November had forced the committee to cut its shipments drastically.

The final bazaar of the season will be held this month in Minnesota's Twin Cities. If previous years are a precedent, it should be one of the most successful.

Despite widespread belief that economic recovery has taken place in Europe the need for relief packages there remains as vital today as ever. All believers in international solidarity are urged to support the work of the American Committee for European Workers Relief. Donations of money, used clothing and food should be sent to: ACEWR, 130 West 23rd St., New York 11, N. Y.

Home Markets Are Key to 1949 Trends

By John G. Wright

"Cautious optimism" — that is how the most prominent spokesmen of American capitalism sum up their economic outlook for 1949. In its leading editorial, Jan. 3, the **N. Y. Times** asserts that ahead lies "a period of moderate readjustment." This is simply a guess to the effect that the future will not differ too drastically from the past. Upon this guess they pin their optimism. The grounds for their caution, on the other hand, is much less speculative in character, arising from the completely unexpected weakness shown by retail sales during the 1948 Christmas season.

The Christmas sales were a flop. This is now slurred over but all pretenses to the contrary will be dropped shortly. Nevertheless the results of the Christmas sales have proved inconclusive. They sagged enough to show that the domestic market has been impaired, but not badly enough to disclose at this stage the actual scope and depth of this impairment. This will be shown only by further tests in the next period. The optimists among the capitalists hope that last year's sales levels can be approximated at least in the first half of 1949. In that case the "readjustment" may not prove too severe, they hope. A continued sales slump, however, would signify just the opposite.

To be sure, the domestic market is only one factor in the overall economic picture. But in no other capitalist economy do domestic outlets play so predominant a role as in the U. S. Last year's gross national output shot beyond the $250 billion mark. Of this staggering total the domestic retail sales absorbed on the average between 11 and 12 billion dollars a month, or almost as much as the entire U.S. exports for the whole of last year.

NARROW LIMITS

This means that the limits for possible "readjustments" here are quite narrow. A decline of, say, 10% in retail sales would not at all be moderate, inasmuch as it would cause more than a billion dollars' worth of goods to pile up unsold each month. A monthly decline of 5% would have approximately the same effect as slashing exports by half. Hence the urgency of maintaining last year's levels.

In the light of these figures it is not at all difficult to understand why eyes of all businessmen continue to be glued to the department store cash registers. These provide the most sensitive gauge of retail trade as a whole. And by the same token the moods of business circles will henceforth fluctuate with the rise and fall of these same cash registers.

It should be borne in mind that retail sales are only one segment of the domestic market. Another extremely important outlet for industry is inventories. The quarter of a trillion boom was made possible by the piling up of more than $55 billion in inventories. One of the reasons why the results of the Christmas sales proved inconclusive was the absence of general liquidation of inventories. There were only scattered and isolated instances. But the current inventory position remains highly vulnerable. Today there is as big a question mark over these inventories as there is over retail trade.

FINAL QUESTION

The final major and still unanswered question concerning the domestic market is: Just how strong are its remaining unimpaired sectors such as metals and the automotive industry?

It is confidently expected by the masterminds in Washington that their huge arms program will bolster up heavy industry, in the first instance, steel. Such expectations are by no means unwarranted. But arms production has only an indirect bearing on the output and sales of autos, still the largest single consumer of steel. Nobody knows what the actual condition of the auto market is.

Estimates as to how many more cars can be absorbed at home range from the high of 7,500,000 to a low of 2,50,000. Nor is it excluded that a few more months of peak production may saturate a market that still appears inexhaustible on the surface. A great deal hinges here on what happens in the other vulnerable sectors of the domestic market. Should these sag badly, they will drag down the rest. Conversely, if they show any sign of strength, the remaining props will add to this appearance of strength.

This by no means exhausts the whole economic situation. (For a fuller treatment we refer the reader to the article, "Economic Balance Sheet of 1948," in the January 4th International.) But in our opinion, it does suffice to show that the country's industry has moved dangerously close to a head-on collision with the limits set for it at home by the capitalist mode of distribution. The only element still in doubt is the time interval. And the clue to this will be given by the short-range developments in the three sectors of the domestic market which we have singled out: retail trade, inventories and the metal and auto market.